137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
193 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
● [136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
[301] which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[237] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 196 166 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

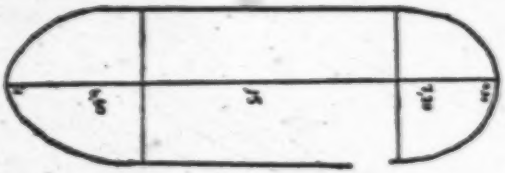

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

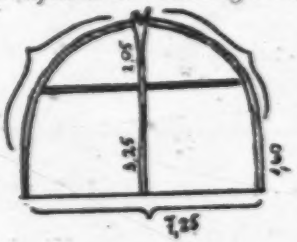

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[136] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
[825] one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the
128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected
[825] by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

differences in size and general appearance between these two rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kereroá -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) Vuavedeí -- serelepe [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coëndu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

[171] (15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is interesting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

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(18) auvaná -- agouara (Canis jubatus). Not eaten.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) koandji -- coati (Nasua narica). Eaten.

(20) eirana -- tayra (Tayra barbara). Eaten by the men.

(21) mykura. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the zorrilho [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that mycura or mucura is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the Didelphys genus called gambá in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (Didelphys aurita) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call mykura.

(22) chauatanangka -- giant river otter (Pteronura brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(23) chauvuanohó -- jaguar (Felis onza). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, chauvuana means "dog" (Canis familiaris), ho being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) chauvuŝpinima -- spotted jaguar.

(25) chauangpytyngó -- cougar (Felis concolor). Eaten by the men.

(26) manangganchaí -- wild cat (Felis spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) tampiira -- tapir (Tapirus americanus). Eaten by the men.

(28) chinguá -- catêto or caitetu [Tr., a wild pig] (Dicotyles tayassu). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus 7, 95).

(29) tanchahó -- white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles albirostris). Eaten.

(30) opokí -- marsh deer (Dorcelaphus dichotomus). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) ochinga -- savanna deer (Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) mianá -- brocket (Mazama americana). Eaten.

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[117:98]

(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) amamanĩ -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaĩ -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaĩ -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaĩ: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky - spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

[118:118]

(44) inomõ -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuã -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

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(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-duck (Dendrocygna viduata) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (Palamedea cornuta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) uyrahó -- jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) mauanî -- American stork (Euxenura maguari). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconiidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) vuanî -- roseate spoonbill (Ajaja ajaja). Eaten.

(50) akakó -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Aramides saracura in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family. [118:119]

(51) karakaraka -- tapicurú [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) ananglura - seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to saracura [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberth's (2, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word arãkorî with the German translation Strausfsart, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the seriema since this author (ibid.) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) vuangká -- biguá-tinga [Tr., a darter] (Plotus anhinga). Eaten.

(54) yrevú pevó -- common or black vulture (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(55) yrevú chingú -- king vulture (Gypagus papa). Not eaten.

(56) yrevú ampaá -- red-headed vulture (Cathartes aura). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

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(57) tampiikyvanchinga -- caracara (Milvago chimachima or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) tamyngó -- carancho [Tr., a hawk] (Polyborus tharus or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) pypypypyó -- harpy eagle (Thrasaetus harpyia). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) urukureá -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupí of Bahia.

[118:120]

(61) vuantox(u)iá -- hoatzin (Opisthocomus cristatus). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called catingueiro [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word ikanchíng, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) ypekú -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) chryvá -- motmot (Momotus spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) tatauantí -- kingfisher (Ceryle spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) vuainomy -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) yvychangó -- taperá [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Chaetura cinereiventris in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) urutauí -- potoo (Nyctibius spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) tuichinga -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white tuí [parakeet]" when they

136 262 saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

[118:121]

(69) arara -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaniné -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchoró -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynó -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichíva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynó. Eaten.

(74) aní -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryó -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyó -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) avié -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thrush (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Calliospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

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(78) ancoschingbó -- oriole (Xanthornus jamacai). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

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262 (79) angkaé -- jay (Uroleuca cyanoleuca or Cyanocorax spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) champohú -- japu [Tr., oriole family] (Ostinops decumanus). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

REPTILES

(81) changkané -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) chauvatí-pevoí -- cágado [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Hydrispis hilarii in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) chauvatió -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the tartaruga do mar [literally, "sea turtle"] (Talassochelis carreta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the tartaruga da Amazônia (Podocnemis expansa).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the tracajá [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (Podocnemis cayennensis) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitíua eat one of those small chelonians which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) chauvatí-eté -- jaboti [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (Testudo tabulata). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

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(85) chauvachí-amperanchí -- matamata (Chelys fimbriata). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (Amphisbaena alba) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said maiá or máia, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) tanú -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for Hemidactyeus mabuia in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

•136 as to Diploglossus fasciatus in Fig. 155.
262 (88) amereva -- mãbuia agilis. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (Microblepharus maximiliani) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) chichuputereva -- teju (Tupinambis teguixin). Not eaten.

(90) anemy -- iguana (Iguana tuberculata). Eaten by grown men.

(91) kamechorãnia. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the papavento [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (Anolis punctatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) koviañ -- tuira-peva [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (Hoplocercus spinosus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) maichiningó -- rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus). Not eaten.

[118:124]

(94) maiayva -- jararaca [Tr., pit viper] (Lachesis lanceolatus). Not eaten.

(95) okumanf. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (Micrurus corallinus) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) urukukú -- bushmaster (Lachesis mutus). Not eaten.

(97) maioó -- anaconda (Eunectes murinus). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless cobra-nova (Drymobius bifossatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) machukyry. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (Chironius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

AMPHIBIANS

(99) tayra. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

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(100) choí -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Nototrema fissipes in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) kororó -- toad (Bufo marinus). Not eaten.

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(102) chyioó -- horned frog (Ceratophrys spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) vuavá -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Leptodactylus caliginosus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) mantereva. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (Dendrobates tinctorius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) kurtúa -- small tree toad (Hyla spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) choipapevó -- frog (Phyllomedusa spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

[119:79] FISH

(107) xpirá -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C.Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) chavevuyra -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) pirampokó -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) ampakochingó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (Selene vomer) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) chauevychanché. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (Achirus lineatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

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262 asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of chavevuyra, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and chancé, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus 11, 157).

(112) mairámpeyá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (Spheroides spengleri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (ibid., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) moó. The Tapirape gave this word when they saw the moray eel (Lycodontis moringa) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (Symbranchus marmoratus) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) purangké -- electric eel (Electrophorus electricus). Eaten by the men.

(115) chechoó -- piracuru [Tr., or pirarucu, a giant Amazon fish] (Arapaima gigas). Eaten by the men.

(116) chechó. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the jeju (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotáua. As for the relationship between chechó and chechoó, that is, "big chechó," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the jeju is the best bait for catching pirarucu with the hook. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (Paulicea lütkni) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) orovĩ - sorubim (Pseudoplatystoma corruscans). Eaten.

136 262 (118) tauvanuá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tororopy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniá -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaí -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniauhõ -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniá. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) moró -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten. [119:81]

(125) amoatá -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatá, from kaábo-atá, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatá and amatáua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatá, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoataú. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiúcuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatá by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampá -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antangkopaná -- pirá-tamanduá [Tr., pirá is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduá for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) aknã -- acará [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

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(130) changkoná -- jacundá [Tr., a cichloid fish] (Crenicichla spec.). Eaten.

(131) tukunaré -- tucunaré (Cichla spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) vuananaó -- corumbatá (Prochilodus spec.). Eaten.

(133) vuananaí. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the chimboré (Anostomus kneri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the corumbatá [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat vuananaí.

(134) ipiáua -- piava [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (Leporinus spec.). Eaten.

(135) ipirápechova -- lambari-guaçu [Tr., lambari is a Tupi word for "minnow"; guaçu is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw Tetragonopterus rutilus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

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(136) pekakuhama -- lambari-mirim [Tr., mirim is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (Characidium fasciatum). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) aikyngapeva -- dog-fish or saincanga (Acestrorhamphus hepsetus). Eaten.

(138) tanayra -- traíra [Tr., lungfish?] (Hoplias malabaricus). Eaten.

(139) ipiránionó -- piranha in general (Pygocentrus and Serrassalmus genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

MOLLUSKS

(140) ity -- shellfish in general.

(141) champoroá. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw Planorbis peregrinus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136 262 (142) tatytá -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananó -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiá das pedras (Panopaeus herbstti) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

ARACHNOIDS

136 262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chanó -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanóini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaí -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoá -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapeauá -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

INSECTS

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(152) tokorí -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

(153) tokoró ambipém -- esperança (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) tokoró. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (Fulgora lanternaria) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) kyngeyma -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of kynga, "bone," and yma, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) tiraná -- praying mantis (Stagmatoptera predicatoria). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) pykapykáua -- cricket (Gryllus spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, pykápyká (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) ygechuchauana -- mole cricket (Gryllotalpa spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) anavé, anaué, araué -- cockroach (Blatella germanica I.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) kupií -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) chichinó -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the cavalo-de-cão [Tr., spider wasp] (Aeschnidae) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name chichina for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (Synoeca) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) ámpeámpeí. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (Atropos), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (Belostoma),

136 262 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia), Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this [515] insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimákyrynga -- hammock louse (iní means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuá. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

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262 (168) anerechinga -- Lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) takuereré, takuarereka - firefly in general; takú means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) pykápyká. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids tayra. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) if -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of birigui [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Phlebotomus).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the mosquito pólvora [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Culicoides spec.).

(172) ipió, ipioeté -- gnat (Simulium spec.). It is eaten when caught in flagrante.

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(173) ipiochinga -- lambe-olhos [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (Trigona duckei). Eaten when caught in flagrante. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) tanchió, tanchiú -- muriçoca mosquito (Anopheles spec.). Eaten when caught in flagrante.

(175) merú. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (Stomoxys calcitrans) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (Tachina melanopyga and Hermetia illucens) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (Cochlionvia macellaria) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) mutuka -- motuca fly [horse fly] (Chrysops and Erephopsis). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) iora -- flea (Pulex irritans or Ctenocephalus canis?).

(178) tongá -- chigoe (Tunga penetrans).

136 262 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahũ which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee eĩ or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

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(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateĩ -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

136 262 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171 262 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

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4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

823 772 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa* [101] *awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

773 "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated. 776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura 776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live [775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after [756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Caraíd. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Caraíd).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

● [136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura viridata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lector*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable